

6 Polit. Pamph. vol. 143.

N A T H A N
TO
L O R D N O R T H.

[PRICE ONE SHILLING.]

K



N A T H A N

TO

L O R D N O R T H.

“ Mine is an inferior Office in the Temple of Jus-
“ tice.—I have bound the Victim, and dragged
“ him to the Altar.” JUNIUS.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCLXXX.



NATHAN TO LORD NORTH.

MY LORD,

IF it were my present purpose merely to put together a twelve-penny pamphlet *secundum artem*; simply to acquire the applause of a few readers, and perhaps the reward of a few guineas; I should imitate the style of a man who has betrayed the morality and literature of his country almost as completely as your lordship has betrayed that country itself—I should set out, with the detestable author of the *Rambler*, in his *Taxation no Tyranny*, by telling of some fundamental principle or some common axiom, “which being generally received, is little doubted, and, being little doubted, has been rarely proved.” But, my Lord, I am a native of that unhappy country you have ruined. I am one of those wretches whom your Lordship’s politics have cursed beyond the power of salvation. Real sorrows suit but ill with art.

B

Few

Few perhaps will read this letter; fewer still will praise it: for your Lordship's friends and adherents are, I fear, more numerous than those of freedom or of truth. But I shall enjoy a satisfaction, for some years unknown to your Lordship—the satisfaction of having done my duty. My Lord, mine is no distinguished pen. All of that description your Lordship's pensions have secured. My only motive for writing this letter is, because I am your Lordship's enemy; and I am an enemy to your Lordship, because I consider your Lordship as the greatest enemy to my country.

Before I proceed, let me account for dropping, as I mean to do in the remainder of my letter, "My Lord," and "Your Lordship"—those magic charms by which, among others, a worthless individual distinguishes in this country those who assist him to enslave his fellow-creatures.—We are created equal. We are all men. God never made a Lord, nor (what is more) a King. A genuine son of freedom can boast a more respectable pedigree than Cadwallader himself, or the proudest peer in parliament. He who was born free, and would sooner die a thousand deaths than part with liberty, is authorized to take the wall of the greatest monarch slavery ever appointed to oppress a devoted people. Away then with your
empty

empty titles ! Detestation of tyranny is true nobility, and loyalty to freedom stamps with the only real rank and honour.

Stuck round with titles or hung round with strings—
That you may be by Kings, or Whores of Kings.

Does not Fame more gladly bid her immortal lungs amaze the welkin with “ Cromwell the regicide, or “ Charles Fox the patriot ;” than when she trumpets forth, like a news-carrier, with one of your Lordship’s Gazettes, “ The “ Right Honourable Sir Frederick North, “ Lord North, LL.D. First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord “ Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports “ and Governor of Dover-castle, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of “ Somerset, Chancellor of the University of “ Oxford, Recorder of Gloucester and Taunton, One of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-house, President of the Foundling Hospital “ and of the Asylum, a Governor of the Turkey “ Company and the Charter-house, and Knight “ of the Garter ?” Not to mention that, however good her Ladyship’s lungs may be, Fame must find herself out of breath, and knock up, long before she gets as far as Oxford.

Of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, this was the glorious system. It should be recorded in letters of diamond.

When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?

Mr. Edmondson has just published a Complete Body of Heraldry, in only two volumes folio, which costs only three pounds seven shillings—but I will defy him, and all the kings at arms in the world, to answer the question; though some of the heraldic writers almost attempt to prove that their science, so exceedingly useful at present, was known before the birth of ——— Adam, Esq; First Lord of the Creation, Lord Warden and Governor of Paradise, and One of the Elder Brethren of mankind.

Another question or two. Did the immortal Cromwell assume any other title than the enviable one of *Protector*? Does America talk of Viscount Washington? Is the illustrious prisoner lately brought to this country styled Lord Laurens? Go to with your titles! Mere birdlime to catch women! Proceed, great Fox—Be not silent, Barré, in the cause of freedom—Despair not, ye daring sons of liberty! Before long, I hope still to see my countrymen (as the Declaration of the Congress properly terms it) “*as-
sume among the powers of the earth that equal
station,*

“ station, to which the laws of Nature and of
“ Nature’s God entitle them.”

Thus much for any apparent want of politeness in my style. So far from being guilty of any incivility, I mean to act towards you with something not altogether unlike friendship. Notwithstanding the enmity which I honestly confessed, and which every honest Englishman must experience, I feel for you as a man, while I detest you as a minister. To shew the arch-fiend in his proper diabolical shape; to procure your removal from the ear of Majesty, where you have been too long squat like a toad, inspiring venom, would give me the greatest pleasure.— But to see you delivered up to the justice of an incensed people; to behold you consigned, without the merits of a De Witt, to the punishment of a De Witt, much as you deserve such punishment, would shock my feelings. The resentment of an injured people, when once roused, might reach, if properly encouraged by opposition, beyond the sacrifice of a minister. Be advised—retire before the populace snatch the instruments of lingering justice into their own hands—fly to shelter before the pelting of the pitiless storm. While you hesitate, the moment of preservation may perhaps be lost for ever. Too much security will be your ruin.

Pombal

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Pombal indeed survived his detestable administration; but, compared with you, Pombal was a patriot: and the waters of the Thames, whatever may be those of the Tagus, are not the waters of oblivion.

It is true, that we have borne much; yet the strongest back will break, the veriest woman will turn at last, even cowards may be forced into courage. True it is, that for ten years you have commanded the mercenaries of Tyranny, while the glorious band of patriots have in vain besieged you; but remember—even Troy was taken. Now, for the last time, you are solemnly required to surrender. If you still persist in your obstinacy, the fatal consequences of conquest remain on your own devoted head.

Your language, while you are perusing this letter, I well know. “General declamation! “The common superficial abuse of opposition!” But, though it has ever been the custom to accuse opposition in this manner, opposition does not deal, nor ever has dealt, in generals. It is an accusation that will not hold good either against their speeches or against their writings. Is there a single publication, dignified with the patriotic name of Almon, which deserves the character of unmeaning declamation, bringing home no charge,
and

and supported by no proof? Is there any one writer in the glorious cause of the people, who endeavours to confuse our understandings with a senseless jargon of the spirit of the constitution, of liberty and freedom, and freedom and liberty; like mountebank Graham, with his eternal soul of matter, his ætherial essence, and celestial æther? None of your infamous runners has yet been hardy enough to whisper such a charge in the blindest corner of the most obscure alehouse.

As to the oratory of the patriotic party — When was Fox ever hurried by the wandering torrent of his eloquence from England to the other side of the Atlantic? When did he ever serve up to the nauseated house for the twentieth time the same stale hash of American politics? When did Burke employ that time in the well-turned praise of his Honourable Friend, or the elegant abuse of ministry, which should have been spent in reasoning? When did he sacrifice argument to shining metaphor, or to splendid declamation? When did Barré expose the weakness of your measures, by retailing anecdotes of some former minister, or by general undistinguishing applause of Pitt, for the purpose of attacking whom, at a time when Pitt perhaps most deserved applause, he was originally brought into parliament? When did the eloquent Sir George Yonge level
his

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his deafening battery in such a random manner at you, that even his own friends were at a loss to see at whom he aimed? Never—I answer, never—and all the people echo, NEVER.

My party (I ought rather to say the nation; for they, whom you would call the *faction*, comprehend now almost all His Majesty's subjects)—my party shall not for the first time be disgraced by a general declaimer. Your present accuser shall deal in pointed charges, and bring his charges home by proof.—Frederick Lord North, &c. &c. hold up your hand at the bar of the public. At the footstool of the throne of Royalty I arraign you of treason against the state. Let Freedom judge. If she pronounce your guilt, heavy fall the arm of Justice; and curst be he who cries out “hold!”

The principal crime of which I accuse you, is one without the commission of which you never could have been guilty of so many other crimes. How did you dare ever to take into your feeble hands the difficult reins of government? If any thing can plead the excuse of that Master who called you to his service, where shall we find the shadow of an apology for you who in your vanity and folly listened to the call?

A man

A man, whose debts, some of them not the most respectable, a whole Exchequer would scarcely discharge—whose politics, like his fortunes, depend upon the turning of a pair of dice. A broken gambler, who, whatever may *perhaps* be his private virtues, would scruple not, as minister, to throw a main for JAMAICA, or to toss-up for GIBRALTAR — whose genius for finance is the learning of Jew-brokers, and the calculation of chances—whose honour is duelling—who received a sum of money from a *lady* to discharge *a debt of honour*, and lost it at a gaming-table by the way.

Is or is not this your picture? And could any thing equal your assurance in coming forward at such a time as prime minister of such a country? In filling that gap in which we once beheld the immortal Pitt? Were your puny shoulders calculated to relieve a Hercules? Why did you not, like an honest man, acknowledge your incapacity, and leave the labour to him for whom nature evidently meant it?

Of your abilities Junius fixed the extent in his First Letter, dated so long ago as the 21st of January 1769. “ His Lordship is yet to give us
C “ the

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“ the first proof of his abilities : it may be said
“ did to suppose, that he has hitherto volun-
“ tarily concealed his talents ; intending perhaps
“ to astonish the world, when we least expect it,
“ *with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedi-*
“ *ents, and a depth of resources, equal to the ne-*
“ *cessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country.*”
This your hirelings affect, I know, to call the
spirit of prophecy, of prophecy in the present
day *fulfilled* : but the arguments of opposition
clearly show, in all their speeches, and in all
their pamphlets, that the unexpected moment,
when your talents are to astonish the world, is
not yet arrived ; that you are not the political
favourite for whom we looked, but that we are to
wait the coming of another.

Had you been, at the ill-omened hour in which
you were appointed to direct the affairs of a
devoted nation, the respectable son of an illustrious and respectable father—had you been, by
the common acknowledgement of all parties,
untainted by those vices of the age, which, at
your time, and in your situation, of life, pass
for virtues—had you, with uncommon official
and political abilities, with a capacity naturally
turned for finance, been no judge of a race-horse,
and happily ignorant of the odds at hazard,
and of the laws of billiards—had you, at the
same

same time that you did not yet display the temporary brightness of certain fashionable meteors, wanted also all their baneful qualities — had your royal master presumed you would make an honest minister, and, under him, an affectionate father of his people; because you had already proved yourself an honest man, a kind husband, a fond parent — had he, moreover, called you into service, immediately after you had supported, and therefore as a reward for having supported, the authority of parliament, and the privileges of his subjects; and into a service which you certainly did not solicit, which you perhaps did not desire — had even the prying eye of Junius found it impossible to fix upon the fairness of your private character the blot of any crime, or so much as the stain of any vice — had Junius himself been obliged to acknowledge that, before you were Chancellor of the Exchequer, you were “neither an object of derision to your enemies, nor of melancholy pity to your friends;” * — had this been your history, when your sovereign called upon you for the assistance of your services; few would now impute it to you as a crime that you listened to the call; few would blame the choice of a servant, from whom, if honesty and probity be virtues, so much was justly to be expected.

* First Letter of Junius.

Were it, at this moment of national disgrace and ruin, true, that, by an apprenticeship of ten years, your political capacity had been enlarged, your genius for finance improved — were it a fact, that, in so long an administration, nothing had been brought home to you that affected the honesty, or even the abilities, of the minister — had you, during so many years, been accused only of the accidents of fortune, and of the chance of war — had the only proofs of mal-administration consisted in the scurrilities of party, the invectives of disappointed ambition, and the howlings of hungry poverty — did you and your family, at this moment, possess fewer places, pensions, and emoluments, than have constantly been enjoyed by all former ministers and their families — were it true, that, in the most dangerous, rebellious, and treasonable times, you had kept your ground against the most able, the most violent, the most *disinterested* opposition which this country ever saw; an opposition which in so long a period had, at different moments of disgust, been assisted by every political character in the kingdom, except a few steady and determined friends to loyalty and freedom — had you on one day, as proofs that you ought not to continue minister, been accused of the sin of laughing at ridiculous arguments, and trifling declamation;

mation; and, the next day, been charged with the crime of dropping the tear of sensibility over a family misfortune, brought to your recollection by the pertness of debate—had you been continually bullied and baited with abuse, which till your days was seldom heard in parliament; and had you always preserved the spirit of a man, and the dignity of a minister—last of all, were it true that your abilities are of the most useful sort; not of any certain size or standard, but such as unexpectedly grow to the occasion; not the forced and unnatural abilities of a premature young man, but such as ripen gradually, and bear fruit an hundred fold; abilities to which none can say “Hitherto they will come, and no further”—were it a fact that opposition, when they drive you most successfully, only force you into something which does credit to your talents—were it a fact that your talents expand themselves to every event, like the ocean which swells to meet the coming storm, like the vessel which rises superior to every overwhelming wave—were this your enviable character at present, then might we glory in such a minister; then would an opposition to such a minister be placed to the proper account; then would there be hopes that England might yet be saved from ruin, that Lear might be a king again.

Prosecu-

Prosecution I would willingly avoid, of which government is so wonderfully fond. This fondness is evident from the frequent punishments inflicted upon Newspapers for the grossest abuse poured forth daily upon King, Lords, and Commons, and upon all without the pale of opposition—which would lead me to speak of the Liberty of the Press, every day expiring under the cruelest tortures of what you call Law. But we are in the closet now, and not in the house. I will not wander from my point. To that I will stick with the steadiness of a Townshend, or the logical precision of a Luttrell.

Prosecution, I say, I would willingly avoid. Of the two pictures I have just drawn, which more resembles you I will not declare. If you have any doubt, conscience can hold the mirror up in private. Perhaps, from some striking features which I shall now point out, the public may judge for themselves.

To mark the paths by which you have led us to final ruin is painful, but may have its use. My business shall be to track you step by step. Justice will not, I hope, be far behind me.

It shall not be said, that I load you with blame deserved by others. The folly of your predecessors,

cessors, with regard to America, I am ready to confess. That you found America taxed, and did not first begin to tax her yourself, is most true. It shall be granted also, because it cannot be denied, that the twelfth parliament of Great-Britain, which did not consist of your creatures, deserves its blame, as well as the two last parliaments. It certainly laid down principles which could not be maintained; it undoubtedly passed acts which could not be justified. For it passed acts, it laid down principles, contradictory to each other. — It laid down as a principle, that it was expedient to raise a revenue in America: it passed an act in consequence of this principle, without having sufficiently, or indeed at all, prepared the way for its reception. It then abandoned the principle, and repealed the act, without doing any thing effectual for the support of its own dignity, or for the recognition of its own authority. It then again recurred to its first principle, and passed another act in conformity to that principle, without having taken a single step towards obviating the augmented difficulties which now stood in the way of its reception*.

Vain is it to say, that your predecessors, finding how completely they had confused the

* “Remarks on the Acts relating to the Colonies.”

business,

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business, were basely guilty of desertion; and were glad to leave to you the disentanglement of those knots, which they had all contributed to perplex and fasten, and which perhaps no human ingenuity could afterwards have untied.

If you were unequal to the task, why did you ever undertake it? By putting your hand to the plough, when others had run away from it, you did not shew your readiness to obey the orders of your master so much as you became answerable for the ignorance of all his former servants.

1770.

On the 28th of January, 1770, a day fatal to this country, you succeeded, as First Lord of the Treasury, that Duke of Grafton, of whom the popular Junius gives so many amiable sketches, and who has ever since reflected so much credit on the popular party. Very soon afterwards, we saw the famous manœuvre of the third session of the thirteenth parliament of Great-Britain partially to repeal the act passed in the seventh of his present Majesty. But why was not the obnoxious act entirely repealed? Why was the tax on tea suffered to remain? Why did you not imitate the wise repealers of the stamp-act, and
do

do *all* America desired? and then *declare* that you still had a right to do, whenever you chose, what, by undoing, you had just confessed ought never to have been done? Did you not see, every day, with what moderation the lenity of your predecessors had inspired the Colonists? Why did you not repeal the whole act, in conformity to the pert petition presented by the agent of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, which did not even state that he presented it by order of his constituents? By repealing the whole act, why did you not at once give up the right of this country to tax America?

To your repeal we are indebted for the American troubles. This, I know, you will deny, and will contend, that, if the troubles must be traced from the period at which this repealing act was passed, some other events happened at the same time, which are much more likely to have caused them. We shall be told of the Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, presented by the Livery and Corporation of the Metropolis of His Majesty dominions, which assured America, that “representatives of the people are essential
“to the making of laws”—that “there is a
“time when it is morally demonstrable that men
“cease to be representatives”—that “that time

* Com. Journ. vol. XXXII. p. 726.

“ was now arrived”—and that “ the present
 “ House of Commons did not represent the peo-
 “ ple *”. We shall be told of ideas of this
 and of a still worse nature, as well as of sums
 collected for the support of those who resisted
 Acts of Parliament, which were conveyed by
 every wind to America. But, behold—were
 not these Acts the Acts of Patriots? This
 therefore was Patriotism. Britain will not soon
 forget her obligations to John Glynn, Richard
 Oliver, John Trevanion, Robert Barnard, Jo-
 seph Mawbey, James Townshend, and John
 Sawbridge, the Chairman, Treasurers and Com-
 mittee of a self-created society called “ Sup-
 “ porters of the Bill of rights”. These pa-
 triots signed, by order of their society, a public
 letter to the Commons House of Assembly of
 South Carolina, exhorting America to persist in
 resisting the Demands of Parliament, “ which,
 “ as they were made without authority, should
 “ be heard without obedience †”. No advice
 could be more disinterested than this; for these
 gentlemen were all Members of, and sat and
 voted in, that very Parliament, which they as-
 sured their brethren in America was no Parlia-
 ment at all—He, who ascribes the smallest ill
 consequence to this patriotic conduct, must be

* Com. Journ. vol. XXXII. p. 804.

† Annual Register, XIII. p. 225.

as blind as he who cannot perceive, that America would never have attempted independence, had you repealed the tax on tea.

On the 25th of March 1770, a motion was made that a copy of the loyal and respectful remonstrance of the city of London, as well as of his Majesty's tyrannical answer to it, should be laid before the House. This I confess was carried, notwithstanding the patriotic efforts of opposition, and what you would call the bullying of Beckford, by a prodigious majority of more than two to one. An address was presented to his Majesty, with the concurrence of the Lords. The citizens of London were charged by both Houses of Parliament with the propagation of doctrines inimical to the constitution, and subversive of all legal authority. But to charge is not to prove. The accusation was false. It was a crime against the people. The crime was your's. What was this but to strike at the greatest blessing derived to us from the revolution, the right of petitioning? What was it but to tell your fellow subjects they should not complain to the throne? One of the capital errors of James the Second's reign was his punishment of the seven bishops for petitioning. In the reign of a George similar causes may produce similar effects. Take it from my assurance, unless you and your master wish for proofs more serious, that perhaps

the meanest corporation in his Majesty's dominions, that certainly the respectable corporation of his metropolis, is at any time authorized to judge of the legality of his Parliament: that, if Sir Watkin Lewes should wait upon your master before long, and order him to dissolve the Parliament which he has just called; he must inevitably comply, and afford Sir Watkin another opportunity of making a respectable appearance as a candidate for Worcester.

In the course of the session of 1770 you don't seem to have taken any other material steps than those I have pointed out towards the ruin of your country. The effects of your conduct with regard to America now indeed began to appear. An alarming riot happened at Boston between the soldiers and inhabitants. Two of his Majesty's regiments were under the necessity of retiring to Castle William. Not all the pains taken by the friends of the people on this side the water to convince America that there was no British Parliament; and that, if there were, it had no authority over her: not all their patriotic arguments in favour of rebellion, nor all the sums remitted in support of it, were able to counterwork the folly of your schemes, and the obstinacy with which you persisted in endeavouring to dissever America from this country. The unusual majorities throughout this whole session,
which,

which, to a common observer, appear to have shewn the propriety of your master's choice of such a minister, and the wisdom of your ministerial conduct, will reflect disgrace on Parliament to the end of time.

1771.

Whether you employed any of your hirelings to set fire to the dock-yard at Portsmouth, on the 27th of July 1771, in order to take off the public attention from Falkland's Island, you best know. Certain it is, that the affair of Falkland's Island about that time began to draw the public attention. How will you be able to exculpate yourself from not seizing that golden opportunity to aggrandize and enrich your country by a Spanish war? Why were you content to accomplish by negotiation all the real advantages which could have been derived from victory? Why did you not take the haughty Don by his whiskers, for having insulted the rudder of a British sloop; and nobly sacrifice thousands of your fellow-creatures on the altar of war, in a contest for a barren rock where a Scotchman could not exist a fortnight? The more trifling the motive for a quarrel, the more spirited the conduct of him who quarrels; at least between nations. Cromwell would have
nailed

nailed the Spanish ambassador's ears to Temple-bar ; Pitt would have conquered Falkland's Island at the gates of the Escorial.

It will be answered, I know, that by obtaining a disavowal of Buccarelli's expedition, and a restitution of our settlement, you maintained the honour of the crown, and the superiority of our influence. But how does that appear?—It will be urged, that the opposition, who desired to force their sovereign into a war, endeavoured, at the same time, to disable him from action. But the accusation defeats itself; for the opposition were, as they have been ever since, all honourable men; and no times ever produced such traitors to their country as they must, in the case you suppose, have been.

These facts you can never be hardy enough to deny—that if you had in 1771 declared war against Spain, and subdued her, Mr. Cumberland would not now be studying characters for a new comedy at St. Ildefonso; Gibraltar would not have been besieged; and Don Whiskerandos would not the other day have captured our Indiamen.

Your next feat, the battle of the arch-angel of the kingdom with the printers and their devils,
would

would be too ridiculous for notice, had it been a less serious attack on the freedom of the press. Can any thing be more clear than the right of newspapers to convey to the public the debates of parliament? Every member of the House of Commons is the servant, the creature of his constituents. Every syllable he utters is their property. Mr. Sheridan is not more completely entitled to whatever cometh out of the mouths of the members of his house in Drury-Lane, than the worthy electors of Stafford to those tragical speeches which Mr. Sheridan will undoubtedly deliver when he begins to play his part in the other house. But I will not labour to clear a point. It has, you know, ever since been given up. The debates of both Houses have now for almost nine years been printed with impunity in all the papers. No information of our plans or our schemes, or our political situation, can possibly by these means be conveyed to our enemies; for foreigners will not believe these to be the real debates of Parliament. They cannot think any people foolish enough to desire, nor any govern-

* One case would be rather puzzling. Suppose the audience at Drury-Lane should insist upon the manager's appearance on an evening when all the members are summoned at Westminster. In this case of a call of both houses, would the Speaker consider Mr. Sheridan in the situation of an ass between two bundles of hay, or would leave of absence be granted, or would a conference on the subject be ordered between Drury-Lane and Westminster?

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ment lenient enough to suffer, what may possibly contribute to destroy both government and people. They are ignorant of the blessings of Liberty, and know not that, in a free country, every man is a politician and a legislator, and claims the privilege of being acquainted with the destinations of armies and of fleets, and with all the secrets of state.

In this matter it must be confessed you have deserved well of your country without meaning it. Your pusillanimity led you to wink at that publication of the debates which a better minister would have voluntarily brought about from a principle of patriotism; and I am persuaded that, if America had not been encouraged by real and pretended parliamentary harangues, if the veil which concealed from vulgar eyes the inmost recesses of our state had not been judiciously snatched aside by the hands of Eloquence; America would not yet have aimed at independence—France and Spain would not yet have made amends for the despotism with which they rule their own subjects by generously bestowing freedom upon the subjects of slavish Britain.

The old woman's quarrel between the two houses, which took up so much of their time during the session of 1771 and the succeeding one, if it did not originate with you, must have
been

been promoted by you and your friends, for the opposition had greater objects on which to employ their thoughts, and they could not possibly have any views in setting the two houses at variance.

1772.

The year 1772 you marked by the royal marriage bill, of which I know not whether it was more cruel or useless, or impolitic. Shall the family of royalty have less freedom of choice in the article of marriage than your family or than mine? Is not the daughter of a freeborn Englishman equal to the first German princess of them all? Shall a white fattin leg consign the daughter of a British Monarch to a beggarly Prince or to an insignificant Landgrave? Had this bill not passed, we might have hoped to see real patriotism somewhat nearer the throne. Even his Royal Highness The Prince of Wales ought in a country like this, to be at liberty, if he so pleased, to bless his father's people by marrying the daughter of Alderman Wilkes.

1773.

A short time before the session of 1773 took place, Mr. Fox was appointed a Lord of the Treasury. Will it be said that any praise is due

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to

to the East India enquiry, of that year, or to the bill which new-modelled the affairs of the Company in Asia and Europe? All praise on those heads must of course belong to your new colleague; for it is as certain that good can never originate with you, as that evil can never come from him.

Notwithstanding you divided in the minority against Lord Clive, it is pretty well known that he purchased the vote by which he was whitewashed at no inconsiderable price. If so, of whom could he purchase it but of the minister? Your shameful addition to play, and the consequent distress for money in which you must frequently be involved, make things of this sort too probable.

1774.

The uncommon but shameful majorities by which, from the first moment of your ministry, all your ruinous measures had been supported, still upheld you. Now was arrived the moment when you determined to make the most diabolical use of them. They were now to be employed totally to alienate America, and gradually to lead Great Britain to that brink of national disgrace and ruin on which she now totters. The motion for rendering the Grenville bill perpetual was
carried

carried indeed by a majority of more than two to one. This seemed to show that, when you were against reason, numbers would be against you. But, on the first American question, the deserters immediately flocked back to your standard; and victory, as usual, declared in your favour.

All the intrigues of opposition and their emissaries, here and in America, could not induce the Bostonians to submit to the threepenny duty upon tea, which in 1773 you had been so often advised to give up. Rebellion, *i. e.* a noble determination to be free, openly shewed itself beyond the Atlantic. As the first step towards freedom, they destroyed several cargoes of tea belonging to the India company; by the use of which they had already determined neither to prejudice their health, nor to benefit our revenue.

It is true the English, with all their freedom, did not perceive the propriety of establishing liberty by means like these. Inflammatory handbills, violent resolves of town meetings, illegal proceedings of committees, and rebellious minutes of council from almost all the Colonies, did not strike the English as the most peaceable steps towards freedom. The intelligence of these uncommon struggles against tyranny was certainly

received both in and out of parliament, even by opposition themselves, with a proper spirit and indignation. There seemed to be but one voice in the nation, and that one voice called out aloud for nothing but the exemplary punishment of America.

It must be confessed, that the American patriots were rather too hasty in the affair of the tea. The resolution not to use the noxious weed answered every purpose of its destruction. Yet, something is to be forgiven to the warmth of men engaged in a virtuous cause, and I will not swear that you did not, by your emissaries, put the Americans upon this violence, in order to make a handle of it afterwards for your own purposes. Let me ask impartiality, whether this be not more probable, than that rebellion should have been originally begotten and nursed, and now finally reared to manhood, by opposition, either for the purpose of impeding the schemes of his Majesty's servants and jumping into their places, or of disgracing them by bringing about the alienation of America during their administration?

True it is, that the equity of obliging a delinquent town to make satisfaction for injuries done by their factious spirit and negligent police, few can blame—Nor can many deny the justice
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of punishing such a delinquent—yet was the *Act for shutting up the Port of Boston* the proper mode of punishment and redress? An answer is at the tip of your tongue I see, that, of this *Act* all our legislators unanimously approved, that it passed both houses without a division. Still I maintain the *Act* to have been a bad one, which I pledge myself to prove, when required; and that for its evil consequences, which I also pawn myself to shew, you alone, and not the constitution at large, are answerable. This you may call empty assertion; I call it solid proof: for no man can assert that baseness of you as a minister, which any man, from your conduct, may not prove to be true.

As to the negative put by an immense majority upon the motion preparatory to a repeal of your tea-duty, and the unusual superiority of numbers in both houses, for passing of the “*Act for the better regulating the Government of Massachusetts Bay*”—they by no means show the general determination of Parliament to proceed to extremities with America—they only prove the dangerous extent of your influence, which, on such questions, procured such majorities.

But even these two Acts did not satisfy your malice against America—I ought rather to say your enmity to your country. The bill “for the impartial administration of justice,” and the
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the Quebec Bill, were still behind. Both People and Parliament received these measures, I acknowledge, with more than common approbation; but to them we owe our present situation, and to you we owe these measures. The self-evident folly of them makes it unnecessary for me to rob you of any part of that time by pointing it out, which you may employ to so much more advantage in repentance for your crimes, or in preparing yourself for the justice which awaits such crimes.—Neither is this to assert, but to prove.

To suppose that the temper of America before the passing of these Acts, and the temper with which she received these Acts, were the effects of Dr. Franklin's conduct about a parcel of dirty letters, is ridiculous. A common observer indeed considers this illustrious patriot as the great incendiary of rebellion by means of these very letters, and recollects that the dirtiest scrap of paper may set fire to the most beautiful fabric. A common observer looks upon Franklin as either the worst of thieves in this business, or as the most infamous receiver of stolen goods; sees an honest, innocent man thrown into jail, and calling on Mr. Whately not to furnish the means of fixing him there; sees the whole Whately family distressed in the reflections cast on their own character, and in the sufferings brought

brought upon their friends and correspondents ; sees the memory of one brother traduced, and the murder of another almost effected ; sees, in short, a whole province set in a flame, and perhaps the whole continent hurried on to rebellion ; and all this by the conduct of Franklin. But, alas ! the shortsightedness of mankind ! Little think these shallow politicians, that all this was genuine, unadulterated patriotism, neat as imported from America.

That the proceedings of this session did not bring back the colonies to reason and loyalty, can only be ascribed to the imprudence of the proceedings, and to the weakness of the minister ; for, whatever censure may be due to opposition who concurred in the measures, opposition certainly deserve every praise for having lent every assistance, both in public and in private, on both sides of the Atlantic, to carry them into execution, and to produce their expected effects. Had these gentlemen indeed, when publicly called upon by a message from their King to take into their most serious consideration how the laws might be executed in America, and its Colonies preserved to Great-Britain—had they, when *repeatedly desired, begged, and entreated by the minister to lay aside all prejudice and all party, and*

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to assist him with their advices how best to support the Legislative Authority, the Dignity of Parliament, and the great interests of the British Empire—had opposition, so intreated, and so called upon, approved and advised, by not opposing, coercive measures in Parliament; and then had they taken every step to procure a resistance to such measures, and to beget an abhorrence of them in America: had they advised the punishment of rebellion, and then become themselves the worst of all rebels, by encouraging that rebellion of which they advised a resolute punishment: had they said to Britain, Strike your disobedient children; and then whispered to those children, Resent the blow, and attempt the existence of your parent: this would indeed have marked them for the worst of private villains and of public traitors; no language would in such a case be too severe of such an opposition; nor should my pen ever be induced by friendship itself to do any thing but mark them out for everlasting infamy.

At the close of the session of 1774 you had taken as many steps towards the ruin of your country as you deemed it decent or safe to load any one parliament with the reproach and disgrace

grace of having advised. By the waving of your royal hand, the thirteenth parliament of Great Britain was unexpectedly dismissed; and the people were informed that the moment, so much and so often desired by them, was now arrived for the renewal of the supreme legislature of the kingdom. Wise indeed the people, and most probably fortunate, had they made a proper use of this opportunity, the greatest blessing of our constitution; had they exercised that salutary power, put into their hands at such a period by the wisdom of our laws, to exclude from one branch of the legislature those who had been found unequal to the task, or unfaithful to the trust! Pains of no common sort were taken by the patriots, that this critical moment should not be thrown away by the people. Nor were their honest pains without effect. In the metropolis the popular party returned all the members. Upon a view of the whole kingdom, it was found that a greater number of the old members were now thrown out of parliament than was common at general elections. Even Wilkes and Liberty were now relieved from a siege which had been laid to them for almost fourteen years; and one of the largest counties in the kingdom was quietly permitted to choose for her representative a gentleman who was generally allowed to be one of the worst individuals,

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but one of the firmest patriots, among his Majesty's subjects. If ever the people appeared to have pleased themselves at any general election, they appeared to have so done in 1774. The politicians of the day openly prophesied, from this circumstance, a total change of system; and they who lamented the driving away of America by the old parliament, expected to see her brought back in triumph by the new one to the out-stretched arms of the parent state. Yet this did not come to pass. The reason that it did not, was not, as some might think, because majorities of the new parliament, and large majorities too, really and truly approved the conduct of their predecessors, and deemed the part you had acted with regard to America wise and honest, at least such an one as in such a situation would have been acted by every honest and every wise minister. The same wretched system of American politics was pursued by the new parliament, because you basely hired majorities, to approve all you had hitherto done, and to do in future whatever you should order them to do. The voice of majorities in parliament has been indeed in former administrations, in the administrations of those very men by whom you are opposed, considered as the voice of the people. But, while you continue in power, it can never amount to more than a melancholy proof of national

tional profligacy and parliamentary depravity. Let Mr. Fox step into your situation, and the people of England, at least some of them, will immediately allow that three to one is odds at other things besides foot-ball.

The immaculate patriot whom I have just mentioned, and in whose favour I recommend it to you to resign, had, before 1775, been obliged, from the most honourable motives, to forswear all political society with you and your companions. Principle had forced Mr. Fox, if principle ever forced any man, to oppose all your measures. It was your fate to meet the fourteenth parliament of Great Britain without being able to win over to your base designs the individual to whose private honour and public disinterestedness, to whose political experience, and purity from all the vices of the age, his fallen country alone looked up, as to a second Pitt, for redemption from everlasting ruin.

Even Pitt himself was now against you. Lord Chatham, who, from the true spirit of patriotism, had suffered American matters to grow to their present height, without once interfering in so many years with the authority of his advice, now plainly perceived, as by a flash of lightening, the folly of your conduct; now, that the game

was almost over, pointed out with triumph the errors of your play; now, that the battle was nearly ended, showed the mistakes in your manoeuvres — and with an arm, not yet disabled by age, unsheathed his dreadful sword of opposition, and joined the Spartan band of patriots, the Leonidas of Britain.—Even the two brothers of your royal master were induced, from fraternal affection, to oppose so worthless a servant.

Posterity will wonder how such a minister as you have shewn yourself, how the author of such misfortunes as you had brought upon your country, could stand his ground against such a force. Had you been an honest minister, had your schemes been planned with the best intentions, though too often with the worst success; all wonder indeed would cease; we might pity, but we could not blame; human frailty and fallibility would plead your excuse for erring in a situation of difficulty till your time unknown in political history.

1775.

To whatever it was owing, the new parliament, in the first session, affixed its seal to all the acts of its predecessor, by the restraining bills, and the conciliatory resolution. These measures received the sanction of approbation from full
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three parts out of four of our legislators. Yet was this strange, when Mr. Dunning, the great oracle of the law, began the campaign with assuring his followers, that America even then was by no means in rebellion ; that, were it so, America had a right to rebel, because opposition to arbitrary measures was warranted by the constitution, was established by precedent.

It now became too clear a case, that for some reason or other, an immense majority in parliament were for carrying matters with a high and determined hand against America ; whatever opening they might leave for reconciliation. As you possessed not that second sight, so eminently possessed by opposition, and without a consciousness of which you should never have presumed to assume the reins of government, you foresaw none of those evils which opposition, as fast as they come to pass, assure us were long ago foretold by them ; you sat no less composedly in the car of state, than if you had not been driving it to inevitable ruin, than if you did not fill the fearful seat once occupied by Pitt, the great luminary of the political universe.

What avails it to remind your accusers, that in the session of 1775, the American misfortunes were repeatedly ascribed by the parliamentary
speakers

speakers to the measure of laying on the duties in 1767, before you came into power? For the American misfortunes, and for all the other misfortunes of this country, you alone are, and must be, and shall be, accountable. The session of 1775 confirmed the loss of America; and what appeared in that session to be a voluntary attention of the minister to the interest and welfare of IRELAND, was, I have no doubt, at bottom, only an attempt to alienate her affections also.

1776.

In America your politics had now effected all they ever meant to effect. She had entirely cut herself off from all intercourse, but that of blood and slaughter, with her parent state; not only the sword of rebellion, but that of war, was formally drawn; war was regularly carried into his majesty's dominions by his own subjects; and a province was invaded, to which the invaders could neither lay any claim, nor pretend any right. The history of America and Great Britain, during the remainder of the fourteenth parliament, becomes the history of a war uniformly disgraceful on our part, and honourable on theirs. And this, not because we have been unlucky, and they have been fortunate; not because they, who revolt from obedience in quest of independance, must ever, since they fight

fight for the greatest of all prizes, and with ropes about their necks, have the advantage over the government which endeavours to preserve their loyalty; not because you suffered yourself, whether from a proper or improper spirit of candour, to be bullied by opposition into the employment of their creatures, who afterwards betrayed their new masters into the hands of their old friends—but because you did not wish any thing you had planned should succeed; because Providence would not suffer any scheme to prosper in such hands as yours.

The measure of your guilt was now full and overflowing with regard to America. But some parts of your conduct still remain to be pointed out, during the remainder of the last parliament, towards her, and particularly towards Great Britain.

The propriety of re-calling general Gage, and of suffering the chief command of the army at Boston to devolve upon general Howe, are measures I do not mean to controvert, as all mankind are by this time convinced of the essential services rendered to his country by that illustrious *frater Americanus*.

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The striking figure in this session was your cruel prohibitory bill, which was passed, indeed, by a majority of 112 to 16, but which his majesty's dutiful and loyal colonies had certainly done nothing to deserve.

1777.

To whatever cause it must be ascribed, few ministers have ever felt themselves more firmly seated in power than it was the fate of this devoted country to behold you in 1777. Pitt, at the meridian of his glory, was not more unanimously supported. Notwithstanding the ability and integrity of opposition, an opposition to no one individual of which any meaner motive could be imputed than the purest and most disinterested patriotism; in spite of all that eloquence or argument, ridicule or invective, could urge against you and your measures, the minority only served the purpose of recording the vast superiority of voices which decided every question in your favour. But no number of voices can ever persuade mankind that black is not black. While Justice holds the scales of political welfare, no army of ministerial hirelings, however numerous, will ever obtain the victory from Burke, Barré, Fox, and Truth.

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Many of the members of opposition found at last they could not persuade the house that fifty are more than three hundred; that, as one Englishman can beat three Frenchmen, one minority member counts for more than ten ministers. With a public spirit, therefore, not very usual, they seceded from parliament—and determined in their wisdom that the best way to serve their constituents was to pay no regard at all to their interests.

The declaration of independence, which America now published to the world, seemed, I confess, to justify your frequent assertions and the opinions of many, that independence had been the grand object, and operative motive with the colonies during the whole contest, and the real source of all the troubles. But British Patriotism discovered in it no such thing. Even after the declaration of independence it was an insult to the understanding to presume to assert that independence was even then their object—consequently matters were not even then ripe for coercive measures. This I prove from the conduct of opposition. For it had been the uniform language of all the leaders of opposition, “shew us that America really aims at independence, and we are instantly with you to a man.” Now, no one living doubts the veracity of opposition, since they never promise to-day what they to-

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morrow refuse to perform. As opposition therefore have never fulfilled their part of the engagement, nothing is more manifest than that the other part of it still remains, to the day in which I am now writing, to be fulfilled. Ergo, down to this present 22d of October, 1780, America has done no one act which can argue so much as an inclination towards independence.

Still less have the children or the friends of America exhibited any thing like high treason. Few things therefore were ever more useless than your bill in the session of 1777, to enable his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with that crime. The innumerable times this bill has been used by government as an instrument of tyranny prove most forcibly the truth of the mournful and bloody prophecies hazarded concerning it at the time by Mr. Burke and his noble coadjutor Lord Abington.

1778.

Of your political history by much the most remarkable circumstance is this—with marks of public approbation as decided as ever attended any administration, the public have certainly never in reality approved your conduct—with every evidence that you have all along by the majority of your country been deemed an honest upright

upright minister, there most indisputably has never been a moment of your public life during which you have not been deemed almost universally the worst of ministers. In this year the chearfulness, the ardour, with which regiments were raised, and immense sums subscribed for new levies, would have stamped with the public seal of approbation the measures of any other man. By some peculiar fate the strongest proofs cease to prove any thing when urged in favour of so criminal a character; two and two, when brought to show your innocence, nobly refuse to be put together and make four; and Truth herself slinks back, and will not open her mouth to give the most self-evident testimony in so foul a cause.—If you did not deserve abhorrence, how richly would you merit pity! Were it possible for faction to prevail to this degree against an honest man, who would envy ministers?

Under the administration of any other man but yourself the politicians of 1778 would have sought for some more substantial reason than your acknowledged depravity as a man and a minister why nothing was done by Howe, who in the late actions and in the whole course of the campaign had been much superior to the army by whom he was opposed, no less in point of

numbers than in the goodness of his troops and in all manner of supplies—why Burgoyne, who, till the affair of Bennington, had been twice as strong as the enemy, was obliged to submit to the invincible Gates, and to close his boasting campaign with the disgrace of Saratoga. But while you are minister, to overlook every intermediate possibility of misfortune or of blame, to trace events of this kind immediately up to you as to their first cause, is neither uncandid nor unjust. Such is our certainty of the goodness of providence, that I know not whether you are not accountable, in the character of our evil genius, for pestilence or famine, for an unfavourable wind, or an unseasonable shower of rain.

The conciliatory bills of 1778 were as ill judged as every other step you had taken towards America, for how could you expect that she would be satisfied with your granting all she had ever asked ; and, to complete every thing, France, in effect declared war against this country; which would never have been the case had any other man besides yourself been minister. War was declared against Lord North, not against Great Britain.

In this fatal year it was that the most powerful fleet which Britain ever sent to sea engaged
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an inferior French fleet, and the Admiral sent home no account of "burnt, sunk, and taken" as per margin." This crime must have been your's, for it is impossible that the brave Keppel, tho' picked out from opposition for the command, should have preferred a gratification of party pique before personal reputation and national honour. Besides, the freeholders of Surrey have chosen him for their representative, Lord Rockingham has erected a column to his fame for beating the French, and the garters of our maidens are dignified with the name of Keppel. Who, therefore, presumes to doubt his bravery? who dares to suspect his patriotism?—The report that he said at dinner on the 26th of July 1778, "If I beat the French I shall fix this damned ministry for ever," however well authenticated, is impossible to have been true. Keppel for ever!

Upon one proof that liberty has not yet altogether deserted Britain, I cannot but congratulate my countrymen. Had liberty given way to the licentiousness of party, which is a more detestable tyranny than that of despotism, Keppel might have been found guilty, and the saviour of his country might have been shot for a greater villain, because a meaner and more cowardly one, than John the Painter. Thanks to English freedom,

dom, the friends of England and of Keppel were suffered to remove to the land, however unusual such a proceeding was, the trial of a naval offence; and were permitted to use means for bringing about an acquittal, which on any other occasion would have been deemed undue, unfair, and unjustifiable; which, had not Keppel been chosen for Surrey by far more honourable means, would have voided his election. This alone proves the innocence of Keppel; for, had not opposition been perfectly convinced of his innocence, they would never have practised on such a trial, nor, in truth, would it have been altogether fair to practise, arts which, except in the cause of freedom, are deemed pitiful and base; which would for ever disgrace and damn any other party but that of freedom.

1779.

Of the miserable situation of affairs in America you were now informed by General Burgoyne. That honourable gentleman was forced into opposition by your conduct towards him for having lost an army. And it was the first time, I believe, that the loss of such an army, in such circumstances, was ever imputed to the general by whom it was surrendered. That honourable gentleman submitted to the imputation of a *second time* throwing away an army; of giving up to hardships and slavery which no loyalty can withstand,

withstand, especially when thus abandoned, a parcel of brave fellows whom he had already given up as prisoners of war—that honourable gentleman got over his former * delicacy, and did not hesitate at the indecency of giving his voice, as a judge, in questions respecting America, even at the time he was a prisoner of war to America; nay, he scrupled not to lay the purity of his patriotism open to the charge of purchasing his parole from American rebels by taking the part of their rebellion here—and all this, that he might have an opportunity to expose your culpable and criminal conduct towards the colonies, and convince the public that no one step of your administration had merited praise, except that of appointing him to the command of the expedition from Canada.

When the session of 1779 arrived, it no longer remained a doubt whether France would

* On the 27th of February 1775, General Burgoyne began a speech in the House of Commons thus:—"From the time I have been under orders to serve in America, I have thought it an unbecoming part to give my voice as a judge in any American question, this upon your paper only excepted. But having taken some share in the debates of last year which have been misrepresented, and having appeared in some divisions this year, before I had any knowledge or suspicion of my destination, I anxiously wish to take this occasion to explain the motives upon which I have invariably acted."—V. Almon's Parliamentary Register, I. 250.
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join, and seriously join, America. To say, that opposition by their daily declamations upon our inability to cope with any new enemy, and their crocodile lamentations over the defenceless state of their country, held out poor old England as an easy prey to France, is talking nonsense. We all know, that such speeches were never made by opposition; that, if such speeches were made, opposition took care they should never be published; that, if they were published here, opposition took care they should never get into the foreign prints; that, if they crept into the foreign prints, foreign powers by such speeches neither have been nor can be biased.

It will be said that, during this session, opposition, not satisfied with having caused France to countenance a rebellion in America, did all in their powers to bring about a rebellion in Ireland. But I will only ask, whether there be a single character in opposition capable of such villainous and diabolical conduct—whether it be possible for such virtuous and disinterested men as the members of opposition, in their desire of coming into power, to overlook every intermediate step of baseness and turpitude—and whether any one real Englishman suspects that any one of our present patriots would accept of any appointment in the power of the
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present ministry. The innumerable times you have shifted backward and forward, from one side to the other, you well know ; and, calling to mind what was your own conduct when out of place, you ascribe the same conduct to those who are now in the same situation. Your portrait of Public Villainy is copied from Yourself.

1780.

The fifth and last session of the late Parliament is too fresh in the reader's memory, to make it necessary that I should dwell upon it. It gave the finishing stroke to the praiseworthy conduct of our patriots, and to the ruinous measures of administration. Spain had now joined America France and Opposition, in the friendly view of bringing us back to reason, and providing us with better ministers. But yours is a folly to which not experience itself can teach any thing like wisdom,

To the complaints of Ireland, indeed, you at last listened ; yet not till Opposition, by the manner in which they were obliged to take up the cause of Ireland, led the public to think they sincerely wished her to imitate America and to rebel. But all the eloquence of Burke could not prevail so far as to introduce œconomy into

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the Civil List, though he generously set out with allowing ten thousand pounds more annually to the article of secret service money than you proved to have been employed that way *. Neither could Sir George Savile procure a communication of the pension list. And yet these were clearly desired by a majority of the people, for they were desired in petitions, which every one knows were in no parts of the kingdom set on foot with a view of establishing a false reputation for popularity against the general election; were in no counties procured by the most despicable means, nor signed by the most despicable names.

It may be said, that the most glorious period of this country for real liberty and generous freedom was not the least notorious for want of œconomy, and particularly with regard to places and pensions. A catalogue of the pensioners in the Long-Parliament, with their several gratuities, rewards, &c. would surprize even Mr. Burke. And, to shew I am not afraid of the argument, I will present the public with the catalogue.

* The sum shewn by Lord North to come under the denomination of *Pension* was 48,000 l. *Almon's P. Register*, XVII. 130.

Lenthal (Speaker) 7730l. per annum, besides a gratuity of 6000l.
 Bulstrode Whitlock, Commissioner of the Great Seal, 1500 l. per ann. and a gift of 2000 l.
 Edmund Prideaux, 1200 l. per annum.
 Roger Hill, 1200 l. per annum.
 Francis Rous, 1200 l. per annum.
 Humphry Salway, 200 l. per annum.
 John Lisle, 800 l. per annum.
 Oliver St. John made above 40,000 l. of his places of Attorney and Solicitor for the King, by ordinance of Parliament, and by passing all pardons upon Commissions.
 Sir William Allison, 1600 l. per annum.
 Thomas Hoyle, 1200 l. per annum.
 Thomas Pury, sen. 400 l. per annum, and a gift of 3000 l.
 Thomas Pury, jun. 200 l. per annum.
 William Ellis, 200 l. per annum.
 Miles Corbet, 1700 l. per annum.
 John Goodwin 700 l. per annum.
 Sir Thomas Widdrington, 1500 l. per annum.
 Edward Bish, 600 l. per annum.
 Walter Strickland, 5000 l. per annum.
 Sir Gilbert Gerrard, 1200 l. per annum.
 ————— As Paymaster to the army, at 3 d. per l.
 12000 l. per annum, besides a gift of 60,000 l.
 Gilbert Gerrard, his son, 500 l. per annum.
 John Selden, a gift of 2500 l.
 Sir Benjamin Rudiard, a gift of 5000 l.
 Sir John Hipfly, a gift of 2000 l. besides places.
 Sir Thomas Walsingham, rewarded with the greatest part of Lord Dorset's estate, on which he cut 4000 timber trees.
 Benjamin Valentine, Sir Henry Heyman, and Denzil Holles, each a gift of 5000 l.
 Nathaniel Bacon, a gift of 3000 l.
 John Stevens, a gift of 1000 l.
 Henry Smith, 2000 l. per annum.
 Robert Reynolds, 400 l. per annum, a gift of 2000 l. and got 20,000 l. by the purchase of Bishops lands.
 Sir John Clotworthy, Treasurer of Ireland, permitted to cheat the State of 40,000 l.
 John Ash, a gift of 14,000 l. besides places.
 John Lenthal, the Speaker's son, 2000 l. per annum.
 John Bond, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
 Lucas Hodges, Customer of Bristol.
 Francis Allen, Customer for London.
 Giles Green, rewarded with Sir Thomas Daw's estate.
 Francis Pierpoint, rewarded with the Archbishop of York's lands in Nottinghamshire.
 William Pierpoint, a gift of 47000 l.

John Blackstone, 200 l. per annum, and a gift of 15000 l.

— Seawire, a gift of 2000 l.

Isaac Pennington, a gift of 7000 l. and many Bishops lands.

John Palmer, Master of All-Souls, Oxon.

Thomas Geery, Recorder of Bridgwater,

Samuel Vassel, a gift of 1000 l.

Oliver Cromwell, 4000 l.

Sir William Brereton, 2000 l. per annum.

Sir Oliver Luke, Colonel of Horse.

Sir Samuel Luke, Colonel and Scout-master.

Thomas Gell, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Recorder of Derby.

Valentine Walton, Colonel, and Governor of Lynn-Regis.

Richard Norton, Colonel, and Governor of Southampton.

Edward Harvey, Colonel, and rewarded with the Bishop's manor of Fulham.

Edward Rositer, Col. and General of the Lincolnshire forces, &c.

Sir Michael Livesay, Col. Sequestrator and Plunder-master General of Kent.

Henry Ireton, Colonel and Commissary-General.

Tho. Rainsborough, Col. Governor of Woodstock, and Vice Adm. of England.

Robert Black, Colonel, and Governor of Taunton.

Francis Russell, Rowland Wilson, Robert Harley, Sir John Palgrave, Henry Martin, Nath. Fiennes, Charles Fleetwood, Will. Gipson, Godfrey Boswell, Herbert Morley, John Moor, and John Alured, were each of them Colonels.

Richard Brown, Major-General, and Governor of Abington.

Peter Temple, Captain of Horse.

John Van, Colonel, and Governor of Windsor, and a gift of 4000 l.

Algernon Sydney, Governor of Dover Castle.

Richard Ingoldsfly, Colonel, and Governor of Oxford.

John Hutchinson, Colonel and Governor of Nottingham.

Cornelius Holland, 1600 l. per annum.

Philip Skippon, 1000 l. per annum, besides a gift of lands, and a Majority-General of the Army, and of London.

Tho. Westrow, rewarded with the Bishop of Worcester's manor of Hartlerow.

Anthony Stapley, Colonel, and Governor of Chichester.

Alexander Rigby, Colonel, and Governor of Bolton.

Charles Pym, Captain of Horse.

Sir Arthur Haslerig, Colonel, and Governor of Newcastle, rewarded with a gift of 6500 l. and the Bp of Durham's manor at Aukland.

Sir Thomas Middleton, Major-General for Denbigh, and five more counties.

Lord Grey of Grooby, rewarded with the royal manor of Holdenby.

Sir William Constable, Governor of Gloucester, sold his estate to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, for 25000 l. and then obtained an order of Parliament to refuse it, without returning one penny of money back.

Sir

NATHAN TO LORD NORTH. 53

Sir William Purfoy, Colonel, and Governor of Coventry, had a gift of 1500 l.

Sir Edward Hungerford, 1500 l. per annum.

Walrer Long, Colonel, had a gift of 5000 l.

Michael Oldworth, 3000 l. per annum, was also Governor of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Keeper of Windsor Park.

Thomas Scot, rewarded with certain of the Archbishop's lands, and Lambeth palace.

Benjamin Ashurst was Clerk of the Peace for Lancashire, and had a gift of 1000 l.

So that in pensions there was the sum of 58,330 l. per ann.
 — in gifts and bribes — 308,500 l.

Besides places, and gifts in land, &c.

Each Member, also, was allowed out of the public
 money 4 l. per week; which, at 25 weeks for } 107,308 l.
 516 Members, is — —

The truth of this list must be confessed; but it does not prove the inferior corruption of the present day, it does not prove that the people have been more burthened in this way under the freest of all governments than under your administration—it only proves that freedom knew how to reward those who so richly deserved reward. The Long Parliament took up arms in the cause of freedom against a tyrant, and defended against the encroachments of the Crown all the property of the subject which they did not in this way bestow upon themselves. Every member of the Long Parliament was in the truest meaning of the term a Patriot, and deserved an empire for his reward—they were all little less than Dunning, Saviles, Barrés, Luttrels, Foxes. Who would grumble to purchase the inestimable blessings bestowed by the Long Parliament at such a paltry price?

To

To complete your history during the late Parliament, it was at last solemnly determined by the house that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished—and this, notwithstanding the whole exertion of that very influence against the motion; a circumstance which clearly made the truth of this charge still more evident, if possible, than the other accusations of your opponents.

The fourteenth Parliament is now at an end. It remains to be seen whether the new Parliament will, like its predecessors, approve your conduct, or surrender you up to justice. In answer to the charges I have brought against you, I may be told, perhaps, that your conduct towards AMERICA has been the conduct of an honest man, and of a wise one—that the loss of AMERICA could be no gain to you—that, finding AMERICA, when you came into power, tax'd, and from being tax'd dissatisfied, you endeavoured by untaxing her to reconcile her—that the situation of this country and of its minister was totally new in the history of politics—that you were no foreseer of undiscernable events—that every thing has been done for the best—that, had you treated AMERICA at first like an enemy,

she

she would now have been dependent ; but that you have treated her like a disobedient child of the parent state, and have been a dupe to your humanity—that, even supposing the worst, even supposing you should be under the necessity, in spite of CORNWALLIS and of TARLETON, to tell the New Parliament you mean to give up America, we must rest content with the loss of so much blood and so much treasure ; though we lament, we have no right to complain—that it has every year been worth while to hazard the expences of the year for the recovery of AMERICA—that, when TUCKER proposed to give up the colonies, there was scarcely a second man in the world of the same opinion—that, consequently, for ten years you have been endeavouring to preserve and recover them—that he, who is even ruined at last in a law-suit, is not a fool for having commenced and continued it ; his probability of success was always great, and to foresee the event was always impossible ; and in every stage of the business, it was wiser to risque a little more expence than to throw away the good which he had a right to expect from expences already incurred—that, in your case, the law-suit was commenced before you had any thing to do with the estate—finally, that it has
been

been a fair trial of skill between the two parties; AMERICA endeavoured to be independent and was right, GREAT BRITAIN endeavoured to keep her dependent and was right; when two parties engage for victory, one must succeed, and one must fail; in the present contest, victory has declared (supposing the worst that can happen) in favour of AMERICA, and, unless Great Britain has been voluntarily betrayed by her commander, she has only to blame the natural chance of war—that the same infallibility is allowed to political rulers as to generals and to admirals, and that man has no right to expect from fellow-man, more than God requires from his creatures,

But all this is saying just nothing. Opposition are the only authors of truth, and ask them, whether you are not the great state villain.

Nations as well as individuals appear to be subject to seasons, in which misfortunes are epidemical. Such a season has been experienced by this country ever since you have been at the helm; and nothing can now save the state vessel, but throwing over-board him whose worthlessness evidently operates as a load-stone to attract the divine wrath.

Were

Were things managed here as they are in some countries, you would never have arrived at the dignity of first minister; nor should I have had the trouble of thus exposing your conduct to the present times, and of gibbeting your memory to all posterity. In a country to which Captain Lemuel Gulliver * wandered at the beginning of the present century, when a great office was vacant, either by death or disgrace, five or six candidates were accustomed to petition the Emperor, that they might entertain his Majesty and the court with a dance on the rope, and, whoever jumped the highest succeeded to the office. Flimnap, the treasurer, was allowed to cut a caper at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire.—Now, this is a merit, to which from your make you never could aspire; Whereupon, thus I argue—

The great villain of this state is a fat man.

By such a mode of election no fat man could be chief minister.

Ergo—The goodness of Providence must mean, that, at least for the present, this should be the mode of electing a chief minister in this country.

* See that gentleman's curious Travels into Lilliput, Abyssinia, &c. &c.

Again, the emperor would sometimes propose three fine filken threads, blue, red, and green, as prizes for those persons whom he chose to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony was this: His Majesty held a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates, advancing one by one, sometimes leaped over the stick, sometimes crept under it, backwards and forwards several times, according as the stick was raised or depressed. Whoever performed this part with most agility, and held out the longest in leaping and creeping, was rewarded with the blue, the next with the red, and the third with the green—Neither could you ever, at this rate, have disgraced the order of the Garter by being one of its knights.

A Gulliver, who should just now touch at this island in his voyages, would report, from an inspection of you and your compeer Rigby, &c. &c. that it is with us as in China; that honours and places are conferred on the fattest subjects; and that the Emperor himself, like his majesty of China, is weighed every year, and that, accordingly as he has happily advanced or decreased an ounce or more in bulk, the whole kingdom rejoice or put themselves into a court mourning.

The Lilliputian mode of election to the great dignities and offices in a state I humbly advise should be adopted in this country. Perhaps at the next sitting of the subcommittee for Westminster, they may think this worth adding to their important proposals for the benefit of our constitution. Indeed I do not see why it may not hereafter become the established mode of election to parliament. Nor do I propose this scheme because I am conscious I should be able to produce a legal qualification, inasmuch as I am spare and thin of body, and should therefore be calculated to make a figure at leap-frog and hop-step-and-jump and governing kingdoms; but because I am morally persuaded it would be a mode almost as wise as that of electing a man representative to Parliament, because he is famous for making speeches, for writing plays, or for not beating the French when he commanded a superior fleet. Above all, I propose this scheme, because it would effectually exclude Lord North; for, should any one be so ignorant of your Lordship as to ask me who is the worst and most dangerous character in the kingdom, I would instantly answer *Thou art the man*.

NATHAN.

THE END.

WATMAN TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN

The following is a copy of the letter from Lord Mountbatten to Mr. W. A. Watman, dated 10th March 1946, in which Lord Mountbatten expresses his appreciation of the work done by Mr. Watman and his staff in connection with the administration of the Government of India during the period of the British Raj. The letter is signed by Lord Mountbatten and is dated 10th March 1946.



WATMAN

